

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 21994 01 OF 02 120134Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 BIB-01
TRSE-00 OMB-01 /068 W
-----096156 120217Z /23

R 111928Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4641
INFO ALL EC CAPITALS
DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY LISBON
USMISSION USNATO
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL LYON
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG
AXCONSUL NICE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 21994

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PINT, FR
SUBJECT: SOCIALIST CRISIS DEFUSED, BUT NOT RESOLVED

REF: (A) PARIS 20807, (B) PARIS 18932

SUMMARY. THE SOCIALIST PARTY (PS) SURVIVED ONE OF THE
ROKIEST MOMENTS OF ITS YOUNG LIFE JULY 5-9, AS RIVALRIES
AMONG COMPETING FACTIONS THREATENED TO BREAK INTO OPEN
WARFARE. FRANCOIS MITTERRAND WAS ONCE AGAIN ABLE TO CALM
THE TROUBLED WATERS, BUT ONLY AT THE COST OF CONCESSIONS
TO PARTY NUMBER TWO PIERRE MAUROY WHO MADE IT CLEAR
THAT LEADERSHIP IN THE POST-MARCH PS IS MORE COLLEGIAL
THAN MONARCHICAL. WHILE MICHEL ROCARD CONTINUED TO LAY
LOW, MAUROY TOOK ON SQUARELY THE CHALLENGE OF MITTERRAND
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 21994 01 OF 02 120134Z

SUPPORTERS (WHO HAD TRIED TO CO-OPT THE DEBATE ON PS
STRATEGY AND ISOLATE ROCARD WITH THEIR UNILATERAL "CON-
TRIBUTION") AND WON, FORCING MITTERRAND TO OVERRULE HIS
MOST LOYAL LIEUTENANTS AND TO RETURN THE DEBATE TO SQUARE
ONE WHERE ALL ELEMENTS WILL NOW GET THEIR CRACK AT IN-
FLUENCING THE PARTY POSITION. IN DEFENDING BOTH MICHEL
ROCARD AND THE LEFT-WING CERES, MAUROY ADDED TO HIS RE-

PUTATION AS THE PARTY'S MOST CREDIBLE RALLYING POINT OUTSIDE OF MITTERRAND AND STRENGTHENED HIS HAND FOR THE CRUCIAL DEBATES WHICH WILL SURELY BEGIN AGAIN IN THE FALL -- THE CURRENT SOLUTION IS A STOPGAP MEASURE AT BEST FOR PS PROBLEMS. END SUMMARY.

1. "THE CONTRIBUTION OF THIRTY": AS REPORTED IN SEPTELS, SOCIALIST DIFFICULTIES OF RECENT WEEKS ARE LARGELY THE RESULT OF MISGUIDED MANEUVERS BY FRANCOIS MITTERRAND'S INNER CIRCLE. FEARFUL OF MICHEL ROCARD'S CHARISMA AND DOUBTFUL OF PIERRE MAUROY'S FIDELITY, THE MITTERRANDISTS SENSE THAT THEIR POLITICAL FUTURE IS IN JEOPARDY, EVEN THOUGH MITTERRAND HIMSELF REMAINS FIRMLY AT THE PARTY'S HELM. THEIR MASTER STROKE WAS TO HAVE BEEN THE "CONTRIBUTION OF THIRTY", A RINGING REAFFIRMATION OF SOCIALIST STRATEGY (UNION OF THE LEFT, RUPTURE WITH CAPITALISM, ETC.) AROUND WHICH OTHER FACTIONS WOULD HAVE TO RALLY. IN THEORY, THIS PRE-EMPTIVE STRIKE WOULD HAVE ESTABLISHED THE MITTERRANDISTS AS THE POLITICAL FOCAL POINT OF THE PS AND ALLOWED THEM TO ASSUME THE ROLE OF PRIMARY DEFENDER OF PS IDEOLOGICAL PURITY. ALTHOUGH NOT HIMSELF A SIGNATORY, MITTERRAND APPROVED OF THE OPERATION AND EVEN DEFENDED IT AS LATE AS JULY 8.

2. LED BY MITTERRAND FAITHFUL LOUIS MERMAZ, "THE THIRTY" SOLICITED THE SUPPORT OF OTHER PS FACTIONS, CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 21994 01 OF 02 120134Z

NOTABLY THAT OF MAUROY. HOWEVER, NOT ONLY DID THIS EXERCISE FAIL, BUT MAUROY HIMSELF LAUNCHED A STINGING COUNTER-ATTACK, CALLING THE ACTIVITY "FRACTIONAL" AND EVEN QUESTIONING THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF A REAL "MAJORITY" IN THE PARTY. EITHER "THE THIRTY" BACK OFF, SAID MAUROY, OR THE PS WOULD HAVE TO HOLD AN EARLY CONGRESS TO SORT OUT THE MATTER, WITH THE REAL POSSIBILITY OF LEAVING THE MITTERRANDISTS TO PRESENT THEIR OWN MOTION AGAINST THOSE OF MAUROY, ROCARD, THE CERES, ETC. THUS, RATHER THAN BECOMING THE FOCAL POINT FOR A NEW MAJORITY, MITTERRAND SUPPORTERS WERE THREATENED FOR THE FIRST TIME WITH BECOMING SIMPLY ONE CURRENT AMONG MANY.

3. IN THE FACE OF SUCH HOSTILITY, FRANCOIS MITTERRAND HAD LITTLE CHOICE BUT TO CALL OFF HIS SUPPORTERS. IF MAUROY WERE TO PUSH HIS DEMAND FOR AN EARLY CONGRESS, HE WOULD BE SUPPORTED BY THE CERES AND PERHAPS BY ROCARD, PLACING MITTERRAND IN AN EMBARRASSING MINORITY POSITION. CONSEQUENTLY, MITTERRAND PRESENTED A CAREFULLY PREPARED TEXT OUTLINING PS DOCTRINE AT THE JULY 9 DIRECTING COMMITTEE MEETING TO WHICH ALL OTHER PS LEADERS QUICKLY SUBSCRIBED, THUS RELEGATING THE OFFENDING "CONTRIBUTION" TO

THE DUSTBIN OF HISTORY. WHEN THE CERES DID PRESENT ITS
MOTION FOR ADVANCING THE PS CONGRESS, IT WAS SOUNDLY DE-
FEATED.

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 PARIS 21994 02 OF 02 120145Z
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05 H-01 INR-10 L-03
NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15 ICA-11 BIB-01
TRSE-00 OMB-01 /068 W
-----096279 120216Z /23

R 111928Z JUL 78
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4642
INFO ALL EC CAPITALS
DIA WASHDC
AMEMBASSY MADRID
AMEMBASSY LISBON
USMISSION USNATO
AMCONSUL BORDEAUX
AMCONSUL LYON
AMCONSUL MARSEILLE
AMCONSUL STRASBOURG
AMCONSUL NICE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 21994

4. SEARCH FOR COMPROMISE: THE CENTRAL QUESTION IN ALL
OF THIS IS MUCH MORE POWER POLITICS THAN A DEBATE OVER
PS STRATEGY. THE NEW SOCIALIST MAJORITY WILL BE HAMMERED
OUT IN THE DEBATES AND CONVENTIONS LEADING UP TO THE MAY
1979 CONGRESS, UNTIL WHICH TIME IT IS IN EVERYONE'S
INTEREST TO PRESERVE A MODICUM OF STABILITY AND UNITY.
FOR THE MOMENT, FRANCOIS MITTERRAND AS FIRST SECRETARY
REPRESENTS THE ONLY ACCEPTABLE RALLYING POINT. PIERRE
MAUROY, FOR EXAMPLE, CAN EASILY SUPPORT MITTERRAND WITH-
OUT COMPROMISING HIS OWN FUTURE AS CAN ROCARD IF HE IS
NOT ASKED TO MAKE PROGRAMMATIC CONCESSIONS. NEITHER MAN,
HOWEVER, CAN AGREE AT THIS EARLY DATE TO PLAY SECOND

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 PARIS 21994 02 OF 02 120145Z

FIDDLE TO ANY OTHER LEADER OR FACTION -- HENCE THE MAUROY REACTION TO THE FAMOUS "CONTRIBUTION".

5. AS A RESULT OF THIS CONFRONTATION, MAUROY HAS INCREASED HIS CREDIBILITY AS A POTENTIAL FEDERATOR OF THE PARTY. IN THIS INSTANCE, HE SPECIFICALLY USED HIS LEVERAGE TO DEFEND MICHEL ROCARD AGAINST THE ATTACKS OF THE MITTERRANDISTS; HE HAS CONSISTENTLY SUPPORTED THE IDEA OF BRINGING THE CERES BACK INTO THE LEADERSHIP OF THE PARTY. MOREOVER, EVERYONE AGREES THAT IT IS NEARLY IMPOSSIBLE TO FORM A MAJORITY WITHIN THE PS WITHOUT PIERRE MAUROY, SO THAT MORE AND MORE MAUROY SEEMS TO HOLD THE KEY TO THE SOCIALISTS' FUTURE.

6. FRANCOIS MITTERRAND: THE PS FIRST SECRETARY HAS ONCE AGAIN CALMED THE TROUBLED WATERS, BUT IT IS MORE EVIDENT THAN EVER THAT HE IS NO LONGER THE COMPLETE MASTER OF SOCIALIST DESTINY. HIS CONTINUING INSISTENCE THAT THE PRESS IS HOUNDING HIM (WHILE IT PUSHES THE CAUSE OF MICHEL ROCARD) AND HIS ACQUIESCENCE IN THE "CONTRIBUTION" INITIATIVE ARE SIGNS THAT HE HIMSELF FEELS THREATENED. MITTERRAND HAS ACTED TO STRENGTHEN HIS PERSONAL POLITICAL BASE, VISITING 16 FEDERATIONS IN THE PAST SEVERAL MONTHS AND ORGANIZING THE GRASSROOTS EFFORTS OF HIS STAFF. YET THE IMPRESSION PERSISTS THAT HE IS NOW SIMPLY "FIRST AMONG EQUALS" RATHER THAN THE ABSOLUTE MONARCH OF THE PARTY.

7. MAUROY INSIDERS TELL US THAT CURRENT DIFFICULTIES ARE THE WORK OF SOME 30-50 MITTERRAND LOYALISTS WHO FEAR FOR THEIR JOBS AFTER THE FIRST SECRETARY LEAVES THE SCENE. GERARD DELFAU, A MITTERRANDIST OF THE FIRST ORDER, CALLS THE "CONTRIBUTION" A RESULT OF "EXASPERATION"

CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 PARIS 21994 02 OF 02 120145Z

OVER CONTINUING PRESS SPECULATION THAT MITTERRAND IS ON THE DEFENSIVE. IN ANY CASE, IT IS CLEAR THAT TODAY'S DEBATE IS OVER POWER AND PERSONALITIES RATHER THAN STRATEGY. MAUROY'S PROPOSITION -- TO LEAVE THE WAY OPEN FOR UNIFICATION OF ALL FACTIONS FROM THE CERES TO ROCARD -- HAS CARRIED THE DAY IN JULY AND EFFECTIVELY CLOSED OFF SERIOUS DEBATE UNTIL THE FALL. FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES, HOWEVER, HAVE NOT BEEN RESOLVED: THE MITTERRANDISTS ARE AS INSECURE AS EVER, ROCARDIAN IDEAS ON THE ECONOMY HAVE YET

TO MEET HEAD ON WITH THOSE OF THE CERES, ETC. IN THAT
SENSE, CERES LEADER PIERRE GUIDONI IS RIGHT IN SAYING
THAT THERE NO LONGER EXISTS A MAJORITY AND A MINORITY IN
THE PS. THE FIELD IS OPEN FOR NEW ALLIANCES AND, WHILE
IT IS STILL NICE TO HAVE FRANCOIS MITTERRAND ON ONE'S
OWN SIDE, HIS PRESENCE IS NO LONGER A TOTAL GUARANTEE OF
VICTORY-
HARTMAN

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: SOCIALISM, PARTY LINE, POLITICAL PARTIES
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 11 jul 1978
Decaption Date: 01 jan 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978PARIS21994
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780284-0734
Format: TEL
From: PARIS
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780774/aaaackhg.tel
Line Count: 232
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: d3f0ce77-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 78 PARIS 20807, 78 PARIS 18932
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2051267
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SOCIALIST CRISIS DEFUSED, BUT NOT RESOLVED
TAGS: PINT, FR
To: STATE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/d3f0ce77-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014